

THE LIBERATOR
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The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the debts of the paper, viz:—FRANCIS JACKSON, EDWARD GIBNEY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, and WENDELL PHILLIPS.
WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXVIII. NO. 43.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

From the Washington Union.
THE BASIS OF DEMOCRATIC UNION—SLAVERY ISSUES STRICKEN FROM THE DOCKET.

As the mariner consults the barometer to ascertain the weight and pressure of the atmosphere, so the statesman keeps a close eye upon the movements of the political elements and the influence they are likely to exert upon the government of the country. It is to be distinguished that the Democratic organization is in great danger of being disturbed, if not distracted, by conflicting opinions in regard to a most delicate and important question connected with the constitutional policy of the Union. In order to bring the subject distinctly before the reader, we propose to analyze the several contradictory opinions which may be said to prevail in this matter amongst those who profess adherence to the Democratic and opposition parties.

I. There are those who maintain that Congress, by virtue of the Constitution, possesses plenary power over all the affairs of the Territories. This class of men, for instance, that Congress is fully empowered to prohibit slavery therein, including the District of Columbia.

II. There is another class of men who are Democrats, who maintain that the people of the Territories, by virtue of their inherent sovereign rights, possess plenary powers of legislation, extending to all subjects of local concern, including that of slavery.

III. There is still another class of Democrats who are limited in the sphere of their operations to all the States; that governments authorized by Congress therein act by virtue of authority conferred upon them by the States through the federal legislature; that they are representative governments, and are limited in the sphere of their operations to the maintenance of public order and to the security of persons and property therein; that the authority of a territorial legislature does not extend to the subject of slavery at all, that relation being recognized by nearly half the States of the Union; and, in some going into the Territories with their slaves carry with them for their protection the rights which appertain to slave property in the slave States; that the title to slaves is fixed by virtue of the common jurisdiction of the Constitution over the local government, and that the decision in itself establishes slavery, but a citizen of one of the States taking his slaves into the Territory may demand the protection of the laws and invoke all the usual remedies in his behalf which are applicable to other property therein.

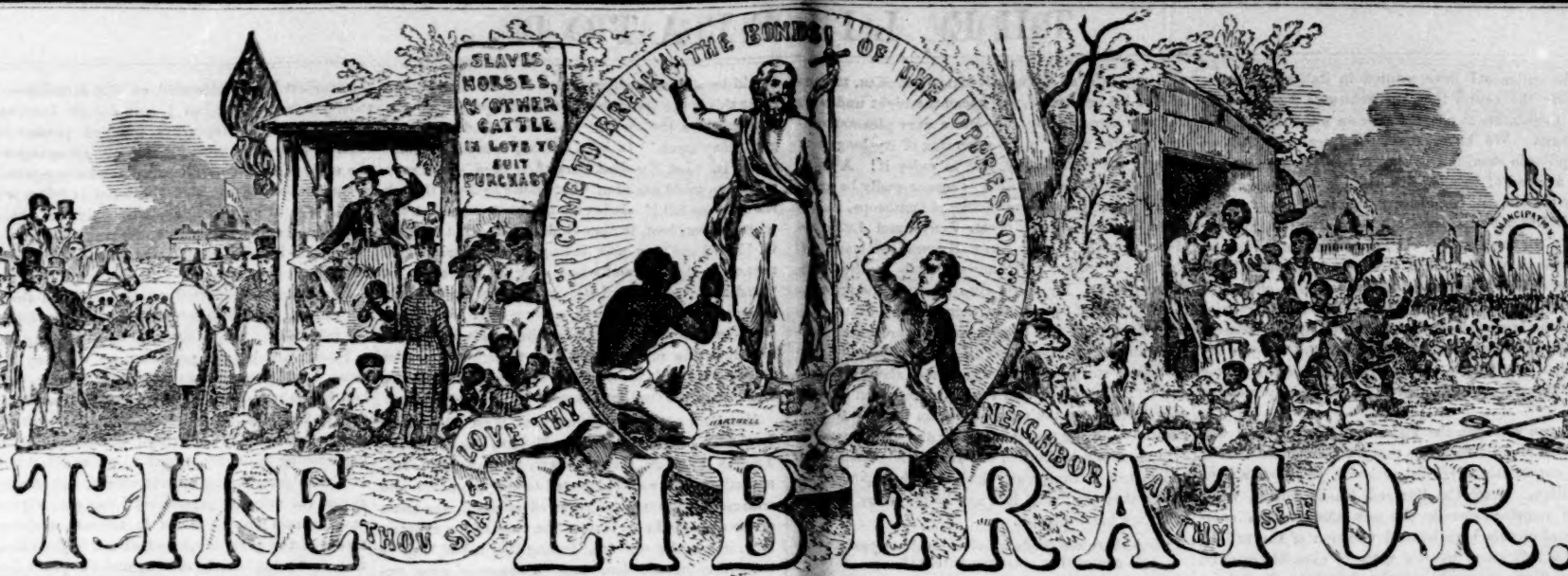
We need not occupy space in refuting the proposition, that Congress possesses sovereign jurisdiction over all the affairs of the Territories. It is the Anti-Slavery, sectional doctrine. It is maintained with a view of keeping perpetually before Congress and the people of the States the question of slavery. It is the doctrine of the Missouri Compromise, of the Wilmot proviso; it is the doctrine of universal agitation, of contention between the North and the South. It is the doctrine of a hateful equality—denying to one portion of the country what is conceded to another. It is the doctrine of legislative supremacy over the federal Constitution. It is the doctrine of disunion.

The second class to which we have referred is composed of many of the most respectable citizens of the North, and of no less than those who reside in the slave States. The question between these persons and those of the third class is a purely legal one—whether, by a fair construction of the federal system, the people of the Territories are, like the people of the States, sovereign and independent of all subjects of local legislation, including that of slavery, or not? We arrange no account of the first, second, or third class on account of his opinions upon this subject, entertained and expressed before the final decision of the matter by the Supreme Court of the United States. That tribunal was established for the express purpose of settling the boundary lines within which the legislative and the executive departments of the government may exercise their functions; and it is certainly the province of the federal courts to determine the character and jurisdiction of territorial governments, and to regulate the rights of property of all individuals therein. The judges have proclaimed their opinions upon this whole matter. Their decision is binding and conclusive upon all. They have declared substantially that territorial governments, by whomsoever conducted, are restricted to the exercise of police authority and the enactment of any law impairing the rights of citizens therein who may hold slaves as property; that such governments exist by virtue of authority conferred upon them by the States; that in point of fact they are established during the whole period of their dependence; that their executive and judiciary hold their offices from the President; that they are federal officers, or officers of the States; that slave property is like any other property, and that the laws of the United States are also applicable to the former; that no special legislation is necessary to secure protection to the property, and none whatever to maintain the territorial status.

It is not much we may dispute about the logical character of this decision of the Supreme Court, we cannot, as good citizens, deny its binding force upon the nation. It is the law of the land, and has the force of such as of our highest judicial tribunal.

Nor, in a practical sense, does this law justly outrage any honest public opinion, or is it fair and equitable to all parties. It is in harmony with our federal system, which is composed of diverse opinions, interests, and even prejudices; because it promotes the territorial common property of the slave nation, and forbids that the local government shall condemn and proscribe what is upheld and supported by portions of the constituent power. It does not of itself establish slavery anywhere, but it prevents slaveholding emigrants in the possession of their property.

Now, if we add, then, as a practical question, there is likely to arise from this judgment of the Supreme Court, no serious contention or strife between those who endorse and sustain slavery, the property and justice of the decision of the Court, will be most readily acknowledged. Slaves, for instance, are not likely to be treated other than their labor will be unprofitable, or into the midst of a hostile public sentiment. We wholly disregard all more propensities of slavery, because it is a costly and impossible work, to laborers may be precipitated upon a territory through some fitful spleen of fanaticism, or by the forced colonization, which, by the extension of the free soil of the Union, will always command the advantage in middle or northern latitudes. If we



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BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1858. WHOLE NUMBER, 1453.

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It was plainly to be seen, by the friends of the movement, that the issuing of the call, the advertising of the meeting by bills and otherwise, had stirred the blood of the believers in the law of retaliation. The Democrat (the Republican paper of Rochester), though not bold in its denunciations of the prospective meeting, showed that kind of hostility best calculated to feed the bitter feeling at work. This paper, by its loud professions of piety, has made itself of some importance to the people—it seems so very difficult for the mass of the community to distinguish between the true and the false in religion, as well as politics. It would seem, to an inexperienced mind, that a paper that was found, week after week, advertising in the blandest manner saloons where "liquid fire" is the chief attraction, could not deceive the people, however loud its professions; but, alas! "to even so" the people seem willing to be deceived.

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Her appearance upon the platform was the signal for a storm of hisses, and yells that would have disgraced the fabled Pandemonium, coming from all parts of the room. (The disturbers of the meeting had cunningly distributed themselves in every direction in the hall.) With quiet dignity, Miss Anthony went through this ordeal, and finally succeeded, after the nomination of Mr. Douglass for Chairman, in putting the question. The meeting proper were unanimous in their "Aye," and amidst a shout of "No" from the disturbers, Mr. Douglass took the chair. His manly bearing and noble presence for a moment averted these terrible rioters, and the organization of the meeting was completed. Isaac Post was made Vice President; Frederick Douglass, William Hollowell and Amy Post a Business Committee; Susan B. Anthony and Lucy N. Colman a Committee of Finance and J. B. Yerrinton Secretary of the meeting.

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The meeting will be addressed by Rev. J. H. TUTTLE, AARON M. POWELL, Rev. S. J. MAY, (probably), and others.

No clergyman, or layman, of the so-called evangelical sects, could be persuaded, by argument or reason, to attend his name to said call. "Blood for blood" was the stereotyped answer given to the most earnest appeals to their humanity; nevertheless, a goodly number of names were obtained, among which were our long-tried and faithful friends, Isaac and Amy Post, William Hollowell, Rev. Mr. Tuttle of the Universalist church, Frederick Douglass, and others of more recent conversion. Rev. Mr. Tuttle and Aaron M. Powell were announced as speakers who would surely be in attendance; others were expected.

It was plainly to be seen, by the friends of the movement, that the issuing of the call, the advertising of the meeting by bills and otherwise, had stirred the blood of the believers in the law of retaliation. The Democrat (the Republican paper of Rochester), though not bold in its denunciations of the prospective meeting, showed that kind of hostility best calculated to feed the bitter feeling at work. This paper, by its loud professions of piety, has made itself of some importance to the people—it seems so very difficult for the mass of the community to distinguish between the true and the false in religion, as well as politics. It would seem, to an inexperienced mind, that a paper that was found, week after week, advertising in the blandest manner saloons where "liquid fire" is the chief attraction, could not deceive the people, however loud its professions; but, alas! "to even so" the people seem willing to be deceived.

Early Thursday morning, large bills were seen conspicuously placed, calling upon the people of Rochester to assemble in the City Hall on that evening, and rescue the meeting from the hands of the fanatics, and save the city from the disgrace of being supposed in favor of the abolition of the gallows. The friends of the meeting, nothing daunted by this bill, moved quietly on, held their preliminary meetings, arranged their plans, and laid out their work. Mr. Douglass prepared a set of resolutions which the callers of the meeting were proud to accept as embodying their sentiments. A gentleman of good repute, one who has often filled the office of Chairman for the popular Athenaeum of Rochester, was selected to act as President for the Anti-Capital-Punishment meeting, and kindly consented.

At the hour designated, we were at our posts. The large hall was rapidly filled. People of all ages, including a number of women, were present. Every grade of character and condition was represented—clergymen and laymen, judges and lawyers, physicians and teachers, farmers and mechanics, merchants and laborers, students, and men of no calling, save to serve in the army of evil-doers—all were there, to the number, perhaps, of seven hundred.

At the last moment, our chosen President failed us; an unforeseen circumstance had necessarily detained him from the meeting. Considerable timidity was evidently felt. No one was willing to be called to the chair, and, indeed, one not accustomed to the scenes which the Abolitionists have passed through, might be excused from blame, even though he should quail at the prospect. We all felt that a man of power must be obtained for Chairman, or the meeting was lost. Such a man is Frederick Douglass; and to his lasting credit, he yielded his own feelings, to serve, in this most trying hour, the cause of humanity.

Miss Anthony, who had made the necessary arrangements for the meeting, felt that the cause of woman was to be sustained in this crisis, as well as in less trying positions, and, knowing that any man occupying the place which she did in relation to the meeting, would call such meeting to order, she fearlessly stepped forward, and announced the arrival of the hour of the meeting.

Her appearance upon the platform was the signal for a storm of hisses, and yells that would have disgraced the fabled Pandemonium, coming from all parts of the room. (The disturbers of the meeting had cunningly distributed themselves in every direction in the hall.) With quiet dignity, Miss Anthony went through this ordeal, and finally succeeded, after the nomination of Mr. Douglass for Chairman, in putting the question. The meeting proper were unanimous in their "Aye," and amidst a shout of "No" from the disturbers, Mr. Douglass took the chair. His manly bearing and noble presence for a moment averted these terrible rioters, and the organization of the meeting was completed. Isaac Post was made Vice President; Frederick Douglass, William Hollowell and Amy Post a Business Committee; Susan B. Anthony and Lucy N. Colman a Committee of Finance and J. B. Yerrinton Secretary of the meeting.

Now again commenced the most diabolical yells. Cries of "Put in a white man!" "Down with the nigger!" "Whitewash him!" "Miss Susan!" "Wimmen, K. K. K.," issued from all directions.

Seldom have we heard such earnest eloquence as fell from the lips of Mr. Douglass, as he stood before that maddened crowd, and defended the right of Free Speech. Insulted almost beyond parallel, and to one not imbued with the spirit which, forgetful of self, thinks only of humanity's good, beyond endurance, not once did he forget the dignity of his position or the responsibility of the office with which he was invested. Much of his speech, so happily did he use his rich and powerful voice, was distinctly heard above the terrible noise of the mob. Rev. Mr. Tuttle now took the platform, and commenced to speak. The calls were very loud from the opposition for Hunter, a man evidently chosen by the rioters as their champion. This man glories in the profession of the law, was once employed as the City Attorney, and no doubt thinks himself mighty in speech-making. A specimen of his style, I will try to give you in my true place.

Mr. Douglass insisted that Mr. Tuttle must be heard, and promised that at a suitable time, Mr. Hunter should have the floor. At length, partial order was restored, and Mr. Tuttle proceeded, in a very happy manner, with a speech rich in Christian argument against the gallows. Mr. Tuttle is a beautiful speaker, with a pleasant, musical voice, and by his persuasive eloquence, and mild and gentle manner, pleases and delights an audience. Too much credit cannot be given him for his manliness and true courage, as manifested in his speech upon the gallows, as a minister, his name appears upon the call, and, above, as a minister, he faced the mob, and spoke the words of Christian truth. The semblance of quiet which had been kept up for some time was at last given over, and utterly despairing of being able to finish his speech, Mr. Tuttle left the stand. Mr. Powell next took the floor. We confess that we feared much for our young friend—his physical weakness must have been apparent to every one, and his personal friends felt that the exertion might be very injurious to him; but never was there a more complete triumph of mind over weakness of body. Mr. Powell, always impressive and convincing, was at this time most happy in his effort. For a short period, he held that turbulent audience perfectly still, and we are sure he must have affected many of them for good; but making an allusion to the condition of the hearts of some in the audience as being "simply murderous to the condemned criminal," the wounded fluttered, and again the uproar commenced. Mr. Powell was now completely choked down. The Chairman announced that Mr. Hunter would now be heard, and Mr. Hunter presented himself. He said he came there to defend Charles W. Little, the murdered man. To our vision, as looked very much like a murderer himself; ferocity and blood-thirstiness were apparent in his every motion, and if we are not mistaken, he answered the description of one who "tarries long at the wine."

His speech was a strange reflection upon the moral qualities required in the legal profession of Rochester, and his scholarship would disgrace a Boston schoolboy of ten years. He pronounced the callers of the meeting fanatics, murdered the "King of England" in a wholesale manner, and, as far as it is possible for such a person to do it, insulted every decent man and woman in the audience. The speech evidently did not equal the expectations of his friends—they frequently hissed him, and finally ordered him "to sit down, his head and sit down." To this order he yielded obedience, after reading a resolution in favor of hanging Ira Stout. Frederick Star, a man of some note as a religiousist, and decidedly in favor of the gallows as a divine institution, came to the rescue of Free Speech, but it was all in vain. The young men who had taught in the prayer meetings and Bible classes of our city were not in a frame of mind to be affected by even Mr. Star. The demon Murder was doing its work, and would not be put down. Mr. Bloss tried to speak, and succeeded in saying some sharp things, but whether he favored the gallows, we did not learn; he favors free speech and sobriety, and makes himself understood on these questions.

Our resolutions were now read by Mr. Douglass, but it was impossible to act upon them. The scene at this time beggars description; yells of the most hideous order, groans, hisses, stamping of feet, whistling, language too vile to pen, were the order of the hour. All classes of people seemed engaged in this disturbance. Even students from the University enjoyed the scene, and if we are rightly informed, engaged in the uproar. Sunday school scholars joined in the dreadful work. What a comment upon the influence of our laws and religion! Surely no greater argument need be adduced against the gallows than the spirit manifested by many of the people of Rochester on that eventful evening. It will not do to attribute this riot to a few rowdies—respectability not only winked at it, but aided it. Where was the mayor with his police? Not protecting peaceable citizens in a sacred right. When the riot became dangerous, the mayor came to our platform and requested our president to adjourn the meeting. This was done. Where then was the mayor's protection? Mr. Douglass, with his daughter upon his arm and his sons by his side, left the hall, surrounded by a gang of ruffians, keeping all manner of vile sayings upon him, for the simple and only reason that "he wore a skin not colored like their own."

We are glad that something has tested the question of color in Rochester, and also that we know just

The Liberator.

DISGRACEFUL RIOT.
ROCHESTER, Oct. 9th, 1858.

copy of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'; but we have no more than a detailed account of the same. We received the above communication on the subject. This unfortunate man is, it seems, a Methodist exhorter, acting occasionally as a preacher, and as such still borne on the Record of the Quarterly Conference of the Circuit. He is described as being a man of excellent character, and as having been a member of that State. We have not just now been confined for nearly a year—the having in his possession a single volume of the book referred to. The scene of this extraordinary dispensation of justice was Dorchester County, Md., on the southern border of that State. We have not just now at hand the statute of Maryland under which the trial took place, but will endeavor to obtain and publish it. We shall then be able to decide whether the disgrace of this infamous proceeding overshadows the whole people of Maryland, or whether it is limited to the Dorchester magistrates, who, to gratify their spite, have perverted the law.

Meanwhile, we are glad to see that this most infamous case is beginning to attract the attention of the Methodist connection. Attention was called to it, as it appears, in the Philadelphia Conference held at Eastern last Spring, but we trust the matter is not to be allowed to rest there. Our correspondent and the Rev. J. M. McCarter, to whose pamphlet he refers, have done good service in calling attention to the case. We trust means will be found to bring it to the special attention of every Conference, and of every Methodist church in the country. So long as this unfortunate man remains in prison, public prayers ought to be offered up every Sunday in every Methodist Church in the country for his release. Every prayer for the prisoner availed much; and we have not the least doubt that, if this experiment were tried, within six months at the farthest, the Methodists would succeed in praying him out of prison. Should they desire the aid of others, there are plenty of all denominations who will aid them in their prayer and religious work. Not only might Samuel Green be thus delivered, but the legislature of Maryland might be induced to repeal or essentially to modify a statute capable of being abused for so cruel and tyrannical a purpose.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 22, 1858.

LETTER ON THE PETITION.

DEAR FRIENDS:

You ask me whether the Massachusetts Legislature can constitutionally pass such a law as our petition asks to enact. I answer, frankly, no, if by constitutionally you mean that Constitution which Webster explained and defended in his discussion with Hayne, and of which he said—

'It is written in the Constitution, that persons bound to labor or service in one State, escaping into another, shall not be discharged from such labor or service, because of the laws of the State into which they may escape. This is as much a part of the Constitution as any other, and as equally binding and obligatory as any other. And who denies this? No one but the Abolitionists of the North. And, pray, what is it they will not deny? . . . I intend to observe, and maintain and carry out, to the fullest extent, the Constitution of the United States, to which I have sworn to support.'

The Abolitionist (?) who can say amen to this declaration has no right to sign our petition.

Let me tell you as frankly why some Abolitionists can sign it, nevertheless.

1st. When it came to a practical question, Mr. Webster himself gave up the strictness of his constitutional theory. For instance: in that same speech, from which I have quoted, (made at Capon Springs, June 28, 1851,) he says:—

'To preserve that Union, we must observe, in good faith, the Constitution and all its parts. If that Constitution be not observed and its provisions set aside, the whole of it ceases to be binding. It would be absurd to suppose that either the North or the South has the power or the right to violate any part of that Constitution, and then claim from the other observance of its provisions. If the South were to violate any part of the Constitution, would the North be any longer bound by it? and if the North were deliberately to violate any part of it, would the South be bound any longer to observe its obligation? How absurd would it be to suppose, when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, that either can disregard any one provision, and expect the other to observe it.'

Now, you and I know that the South, in a series of instances, has openly and fully and avowedly violated the stipulations of the Constitution. If, then, Mr. Webster's position here is tenable, Massachusetts is authorized to pass such laws as we ask, and treat the slave clause as null and void.

2d. But I have what I think better authority on this point, for this rule of State action. Open Quincy's Life of J. Q. Adams, at the 112th page, and consider the course Adams advised and said he would adopt, in 1819, if Missouri persisted in retaining that clause in her Constitution which forbade free colored men to enter the State:—

'Mr. Adams, in conversation with one of the senators of the South, observed, that "the article in the Missouri Constitution is directly repugnant to the rights reserved to every citizen in the Union in the Constitution of the United States. Its purpose is to disfranchise all the people of color who were citizens of the free states. The legislatures of those states are bound in duty to protect the rights of their own citizens; and if Congress, by the admission of Missouri with that clause in her Constitution, should sanction this outrage upon the rights of the States, a portion of whose citizens should be thus cast out of the pale of the Union would be bound to vindicate them by retaliation. If I were a member of the legislature of one of these States, I would move for a declaratory act, that so long as the article in the Constitution of Missouri, depriving the colored citizens of the State (say) of Massachusetts of their rights as citizens of the United States within the State of Missouri, should subsist, so long as the white citizens of Missouri should be held as aliens within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and not entitled to claim or enjoy, within the same, any right or privilege of a citizen of the United States, and Mr. Adams said he would go further, and declare that Congress, by their sanction of the Missouri Constitution, by admitting that State into the Union without excepting against that article which disfranchised a portion of the citizens of the States, had violated the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, until that portion of the citizens of Massachusetts whose rights were violated by the article in the Missouri Constitution should be redemptrily restored to the enjoyment and possession of those rights, no clause or article of the Constitution of the United States should, within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, be so understood as to authorize any person to attempt to claim the property or possession of a human being as a slave; and he would prohibit by law the delivery of any fugitive upon the claim of his master. All which, he said, should be done, not to violate, but to redeem the Constitution of the United States. It was indeed to be expected that such laws would be met by retaliatory laws of Missouri and the other slaveholding States, and the consequences would be a dissolution of the Union; but that dissolution would be commenced by the article in the Missouri Constitution. "That article," declared Mr. Adams, "is itself a dissolution of the Union. If acquiesced in, it will change the true form of the federal compact—change its terms by robbing thousands of citizens of their rights. And what citizens? The poor, the unfortunate, the helpless, already cursed by the mere color of their skin; already doomed by their complexion to struggle in the lowest offices of society; excluded by their color from all the refined enjoyments of life accessible to others; excluded from the benefits of a liberal education;—from the bed, the table, and all the social comforts of domestic life. This barbarous article deprives them of the little remnant of right yet left them; their rights as citizens and as men. Weak and defenceless as they are, no multitude more sacred the obligation of the legislatures of the States to which they belong to defend their lawful rights. I would defend them, should the dissolution of the Union be the consequence; for it would be, not to the defence, but to the violation of their rights, to which all the consequences would be imputable; and, if the dissolution of the Union must come, let it come from no other cause but this. If slavery be the destined sword, in the hand of the destroying angel, which is to sever the ties of this Union, the same sword will cut asunder the bonds of slavery itself."

The sentence I have printed in italics lays down exactly the course the Massachusetts Society asks our Legislature to adopt in a case a thousand times stronger. We have, then, Webster and Adams for pilots in steering this course. In the last, we follow a friend of freedom; in quoting the former, we obey the law, and learn from its foe.

3d. But let me press on your attention another view. Bancroft says—American law is no result of individual wisdom; it is the growth of necessity—the growth of the hour. How true this is, our whole history shows. Lawyers claim that our fathers violated the law in bringing the Charter and government to this side the Atlantic. They let the lawyers say it, and meanwhile, the acquiescence of the Home Government, and the growth of the Colony made it law.

If you will open the Federalist, (No. 40,) you will see that Madison confesses that the Convention of 1787 had not strictly a rightful authority to frame a Constitution. North Carolina and Rhode Island, while they remained outside the new Constitution, complained of this high-handed violation of the articles of Confederation, by the votes of nine States only, when it was expressly stipulated that the Confederation should be 'perpetual,' and not altered unless with the consent 'of the Legislatures of every State.' Still, Madison claims that the Convention was justified in making a new Constitution when sent only to amend an old one, and in setting aside the 'perpetual' confederacy by the vote of nine States, if such a course was 'calculated to accomplish the views and happiness of the people of America.'

The same rule, that on occasions where great interests or principles demand it, the governing power must assume authority, and trust to the acquiescence of the people to ratify the violation of formal law, runs through all our history. By force of such a rule we acquired Louisiana, Texas, and have done most of the marked things of the last fifty years. The principle, then, may thus be considered as grafted into American law, that what a regularly organized civil authority ventures to do, if ratified by popular acquiescence, is law.

To be sure, this makes our parchment Constitution blank paper, and gives us, practically, a government of unlimited powers. I regret, but I cannot deny it. John Q. Adams confessed it many years ago, in a letter I love to reprint:—

'In November, 1845, in answer to a letter soliciting his opinion on the constitutionality of the law of Congress retroceding Alexandria to Virginia, Mr. Adams replied: "I have no hesitation to say, I hold that not unconstitutional and void. How the Supreme Court of the United States would consider it, I cannot undertake to judge, nor how they would carry it into execution, should they determine the act unconstitutional. The Constitution of the United States "shall remain inviolable,"—(is the shadow of a great name.)

And Giddings declares, in his reply to a letter from his constituents, in the summer of 1846, asking him if he was in favor of a dissolution of the Union, that the Union of 1787 is already dissolved—that the President and Congress have formed a new one with Texas, and that the old one has been subverted, and closes his letter thus:—

'Without further remarks, I repeat, that Ohio is now a party to no such union. . . . Our people, therefore, before the prerogative of dictating the future policy of the State. They may, if they choose, demand of our Legislature the passage of a law enabling them to express their views in regard to the propriety of entering into a Union with Texas; or, as we are now dissolved from all connection with the slave States, we may remain free at all further alliance with them. We may form a union with such of the other free States as shall prefer a union with freedom, and discard all further political association with the institution of slavery.'

This view shows the instant importance of circulating our petitions and urging such legislation. The recent action of Congress as to Kansas, and the old Missouri Compromise, is the capstone to its usurpations. Let the people acquiesce, as they have in the Texas, Fugitive Slave Act, and similar aggressions, (to which Adams and Giddings refer,) and the South may say, 'Behold, the people allow these to be law.' But we, the Abolitionists, who have never acquiesced, and mean never to acquiesce, have now a hope of some such official action on the part of the State as will show to all coming time that these last aggressions are not law, since Massachusetts refuses to submit.

4th. But, further still, whenever we ask of prominent Freeholders, or of the rank and file of the party, how they can swear to support the Constitution of the United States, with its infamous slave clauses, they answer, 'There is no slave clause in the Constitution.' We demand, then, of all who believe the Constitution to be an anti-slavery instrument, that they act accordingly, and model State law on what they consider true constitutional ground. If their views are correct, then our Legislature has full authority, and is bound to enact just such laws as our petition asks. Any one who has hitherto professed to regard the Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, and now refuses to support this petition, renders himself liable to the suspicion of being a hypocrite in such profession, and of making it only to evade our questions as to his oath, and deserting it as soon as asked to give it practical effect.

These, my dear friend, are some of the suggestions I would make as to the reasons which induce the Massachusetts Society to claim this legislation of our Commonwealth.

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR.

SALEM, (Ohio), Oct. 15, 1858.

Leaving home on the 4th inst. for a rapid anti-slavery tour to Ohio, through Pennsylvania, with special reference to the Anniversaries of the Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies,—it is time to send at least a hasty sketch of the incidents by the way for the Liberator.

The railroad route from Boston to New York was, as usual, very pleasant and expeditious, excepting always that portion of the route which lies between New Haven and the great city, and which for the quantity and penetrating quality of its dust is unequalled in any other part of the country through which I have travelled. The desert of Sahara can hardly surpass it, in this particular. So constant and serious an annoyance to such multitudes of travellers should be remedied, either by daily watering of the road, or by some other process. When shall we have cars so constructed, or with such contrivances, as to wholly abate the nuisance?

I remained in the city over night, partaking of the ever generous hospitality of those cherished friends, JAMES S. and ABY H. GIBBONS, for which I have been so often indebted to them. Mr. SEDGWICK, the estimable and renowned teacher at Lenox, (Mass.), was also a guest there at the same time, whose acquaintance it was gratifying to make. Next to seeing that departed venerable friend of humanity, ISAAC T. HOPPER, is seeing Mrs. GIBBONS, his daughter, who, in all the sympathetic and benevolent qualities of her mind, closely resembles her father, as well as in some of her features. And, truly—

'There's nought in this bad world like sympathy; 'Tis so becoming to the soul and face— Sets to soft music the harmonious sigh, And robes sweet friendship with angelic grace.'

On going to the Anti-Slavery office the next day, I had the unexpected pleasure of meeting that devoted and amiable man, HENRY BERRY, the English Wesleyan missionary from Barbados, on his return from a short tour to Canada, prior to his departure for his sea-girt home. It was doubly gratifying to be informed by him that he intended to be at the anniversary of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society at West Chester, in accordance with an earnest invitation extended to him by its Executive Committee. It was a source of mutual regret that we could not take the same train to Philadelphia that day, I having by agreement to go at an earlier hour—arriving in that pleasant city at 8 P. M., and immediately leaving it,

with my beloved friend, J. MILLER MCKIM, to partake of his hospitality, and spend the night under his roof at Germantown. He has a very pleasant residence—and most richly is he deserving of it—long may he and his dear family live to enjoy it! A large party assembled at tea, such as cannot easily be gathered, for moral worth and active philanthropy, in any given district—among them, JAMES and LUCRETIA MORT, SARAH POON, ABY KIMBER, EDWARD M. DAVIS, and other well known friends in the Anti-Slavery cause. My pulses always leap in the presence of such, and of others like them in this State, who were among the first to give me words of encouragement and steadfast support in the terrible and long-protracted struggle for the abolition of slavery. JAMES and LUCRETIA MORT had evidently improved in their appearance since their removal from the city to Germantown, having thus measurably divested themselves of a mountainous burden of 'visitation' which their philanthropic conspicuity had brought upon them. While they are living, it is not for me to say of them what my heart desires.

'But there are deeds which must not pass away, And names that must not wither; And, surely, theirs are of this character. May time continue to deal gently with them!'

The anniversary at West Chester commenced on Wednesday, 6th inst., at 10 A. M., and ended on Friday, at 1 P. M. Though a highly respectable number were present throughout, and very 'weighty' in respect to intelligence, moral excellence, and gravity of deportment, the attendance was not quite so large as usual. One reason for this was, we were told, that a horticultural fair had just been held in the place, which had been largely attended, and, consequently, the farming population could not find any more leisure time just then. Success to every horticultural fair! But, first of all, success to the cause of liberty! It has been always so, in every place, in our great struggle. No matter how inferior or subordinate, every thing else is preferred to the Anti-Slavery cause. It is never said, 'We have just had an immense gathering to see what can be done to deliver our land from its terrible oppression, and therefore the small attendance to witness this exhibition, or to promote this measure.' But let us hope that this will not always be so; for

'The liberty alone that gives the flowers Of fleeting life their lustre and perfume, And we are weeds without it. . . . Hence slaves, that once conceived the glowing thought Of freedom, in that hope itself possess All that the contest calls for; spirit, strength, The scorn of danger, and united hearts. The surest presage of the good they seek.'

There will one day be a common gathering of the people of the North to effect a common deliverance; when, forgetting their religious and political differences of opinion,—as men do in the midst of a vast conflagration, or when scourged by pestilence or famine, or in view of an impending earthquake, or overtaken by a sudden inundation,—they shall unite the instinct of self-preservation to the sense of a high religious duty, and concentrate their energies to achieve the safety and liberty of the entire republic.

The spirit of this anniversary was never more harmonious, though the attitude of the Society was never more uncompromising. Doubtless you will see in the Standard, this week, the series of resolutions adopted on the occasion, and hence be able to judge of the accuracy of my statement. The testimony of the Society, has long been clearly registered in favor of a dissolution of the Union, for the highest moral and religious considerations, and with reference to the guilty complicity of the North with the South in the trade of chattel slavery; but a considerable number of its members and friends still, on pressing occasions, continue to exercise the elective franchise, reconciling the act to their consciences as best they may, and console themselves with the reflection that they have tried to do something politically to thwart the machinations of the Slave Power. I cannot find in my heart to impeach their motives, though I am surprised that they do not see more clearly what is necessarily and inevitably involved in their vote. Here and there, one of them makes a strenuous effort to shield himself behind 'the Gerrit Smith theory' of the Anti-Slavery character of the U. S. Constitution—a theory which Mr. Smith himself has never reduced to practice; which, in the face of seventy years of legislation, and against the concurrent views of twenty-five millions of people, is utterly absurd and preposterous; and which can never be imposed upon the South, except through fire and blood, and then never successfully. From the beginning till now, the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution have never been misunderstood in any part of the nation. Perhaps no parts of that instrument have been quite so clearly apprehended. Whatever construction may have been placed by parties, sects, legislatures and courts, upon this article—or that section, they have never questioned the right of slave representation (in the proportion of three-fifths in Congress, or the right of the slaveholder to recover his fugitive slave in any quarter of the Union, or the right and duty of the U. S. government to put down a slave insurrection, in case of an appeal for aid on the part of the Executive of any slave State. I find, in all cases, that those who assume the Constitution to be anti-slavery, in order to rebut the charge of sustaining slavery by voting, regularly vote the Republican ticket so far as this Society is concerned;—that is, they endeavor to elect men to office, who utterly reject their interpretation of the Constitution as historically false and morally fraudulent, and heartily accept that which this nation has placed upon its instrument ever since its adoption! This is glaringly inconsistent, and self-condemning. A large proportion of those who still vote, however, do not attempt to deny the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, but claim that, somehow or other, they only vote to prevent the extension of slavery, as a distinct issue, and not for the instrument itself, under which they exercise the elective franchise. But this is certainly a delusion. The Kansas or territorial issue is but the incident of the hour; the Constitution and Government are in permanent session, and the primary and essential object of voting is to secure their constant operation. The representative elect must take oath of affirmation to sustain the Constitution, not to 'save Kansas,' or affirm to any other extraneous act; and that oath or affirmation throws round the slave system, for its maintenance and security, the military and naval power of the whole country. What can be plainer than this?

I am astonished that any member of the Society of Friends could ever have felt justified in voting to uphold the Constitution of the United States, in view of his religious conviction that war in all cases is anti-Christian, immoral and inhuman; for, by that instrument, the whole war system is explicitly sanctioned and provided for—army, navy, militia, letters of marque, and all the terrible machinery of war. Moreover, the awful power is committed to Congress to declare war whenever that body (perhaps unparalleled for its corruption and profligacy) shall deem it expedient to do so—Congress being the sole judge of the exigencies which render the war necessary. How can a Quaker—or, indeed, any one professing to be religiously opposed to fighting—vote for such a war-sustaining instrument? How can he do so without being condemned out of his own mouth? What if the Constitution contained an article forbidding the worship of one God and the preaching of the gospel of Christ—could any Christian vote for any man to maintain it in Congress or elsewhere, without denying his own faith, and condemning his religious profession by his practice?

It is no answer to reply that 'we must have a government'—that to act upon this principle would be to leave the legislation of the country in the hands of the unscrupulous and lawless—that, complicated with difficulties as voting is, the consequences of non-voting would be still more disastrous. It is no answer, because this is the Jesuitical doctrine of Rome, that 'the end sanctifies the means,' and 'we may do evil that good may come.' It is no answer, because the command is, 'Let the dead bury their dead'—and even a heathen could exclaim, 'Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!' It is ever the most expedient, the wisest, safest, best, to obey God, and do what is right. O, blessed are they who belong to 'a kingdom that cannot be shaken,' and whose song at all times is, 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble; therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.'

Excellent speeches were made at West Chester by LUCRETIA MORT, J. MILLER MCKIM, MARY GRAY, THOMAS WHITSON, HENRY GRAY, BENJAMIN COLLIER, and others—all well calculated to edify, quicken and encourage all present to renewed efforts in the cause of the oppressed; so that, at the close of the anniversary, it was the universal feeling that it had been 'a strengthening occasion,' and 'a season of great enlargement,' to borrow the expressive language of Friends. The narrative of the operations and results of the great experiment of West India emancipation, by Rev. HENRY BERRY,—though in substance known to many persons, through the report of it in the Standard and Liberator,—was listened to with the profoundest attention and the most thrilling interest, causing all hearts to be filled with a joy and a thankfulness for which no adequate expression could be found in words. Its repetition in every town and village would do much to remove prejudice, to enlighten ignorance, to repel slander, to turn disgust into admiration, and to advance the cause of emancipation in this country; and it is much to be regretted that Mr. BERRY must speedily return to Barbados, he not supposing, on leaving that island, that there would be any necessity for him to bear witness in this manner to the successful workings of the most beneficent act in the history of England. On landing in America, he found to his astonishment, that every where emancipation in the British colonies was proclaimed to be a failure! Hence, the readiness with which he has stood forth,—perhaps the most complete witness living,—to testify to the facts as they exist, which triumphantly refute the scandalous misstatements of a pro-slavery press. It is to be hoped that he will fully realize the sum he has wished to raise, to enable him to erect some additional school-house in Barbados for the instruction of the numerous children under his fatherly care. It will be a good investment for the cause of freedom, at home and abroad. Mr. BERRY seems to be admirably adapted to fill the responsible post he occupies, and long may his valuable life be preserved.

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'Affliction is the wholesome oil of virtue, Where patience, honor, sweet humanity, Calm fortitude, take root and strongly flourish.'

On Monday, 10th, I proceeded on my way to Harrisburg, where I was met at the depot by my old friend, Dr. W. W. RUTHERFORD, and cordially welcomed to his residence. He has been a subscriber to the Liberator for more than twenty years, and never fluctuated in his post. A lecture from me had been advertised for that evening, but as it was the evening before the day of the State election, when the political excitement was at fever heat, no appointment could have been more unpropitious. Besides this, a circus had come into the town that day; and a fat woman, weighing several hundred pounds, three living male skeletons, and a huge box constrictor, were on exhibition! Moreover, the place has a large foreign population, wholly inaccessible, and the bluest kind of orthodoxy holds mastery over the popular mind. What chance had the cause of four millions of imbruted slaves against such odds? My audience was

would be still more disastrous. It is no answer, because this is the Jesuitical doctrine of Rome, that 'the end sanctifies the means,' and 'we may do evil that good may come.' It is no answer, because the command is, 'Let the dead bury their dead'—and even a heathen could exclaim, 'Let justice be done, though the heavens fall!' It is ever the most expedient, the wisest, safest, best, to obey God, and do what is right. O, blessed are they who belong to 'a kingdom that cannot be shaken,' and whose song at all times is, 'God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble; therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof.'

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WORLD'S
HAIR RESTORER

HAIR RESTORER AND WORLD'S Hair Dressing.

THE ONLY PREPARATIONS THAT HAVE
EUROPEAN REPUTATION!!
THE Restorer, used with the Zyzybalsamum
Dressing, cures diseases of the hair or scalp,
**RESTORES GRAY HAIR TO ITS NATURAL
COLOR!**
The Zyzybalsamum or Dressing alone is the best
hair dressing extant for young or old.

We take pleasure in presenting the following undeniable proofs that these are the best preparations either in Europe or America. They contain no deleterious ingredients—do not soil or stain anything.

GREAT BRITAIN.
REV. W. B. THORNELO, *Prescot, Lancashire*

says—'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalbalmum are perfect marvels. After using them six weeks, my extremely gray hair restored to its natural color. I am satisfied it is not a dye.'

HAYTI.

REV. MRS. E. C. ANDRUS, *for many years Missionary to Hayti, now of Martinsburgh, N. Y.* 'The climate having seriously affected her hair and scalp,' she says, 'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Lohokalamum. I have tried various other remedies, but have not derived the same benefit from any of them.'

J. H. EATON, *Pres. Union Univ., Tenn.* 'I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer for my hair, but never anything that so materially and permanently benefitted me, as has Mrs. S. A. Allen's.'

and Zylobalisamum but very irregularly, but, notwithstanding, its influence was distinctly visible. *The falling off of hair ceased, and my locks, which were quite gray, restored to their original black*'

REV. H. V. DEGAN, *Ed. 'Guide to Holiness,'*

ton, Mass. 'That Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Best Restorer and Zylbalsamum promotes the growth of the hair where baldness has commenced, now have the evidence of our own eyes.'

REV. J. A. H. CORNELL, *Cor. Sec. B'd Educ'n*
 N. City. 'I recommend Mrs. S. A. Allen's

REV. JNO. E. ROBBIE, *Ed. 'Chr. Adv.' Buff.*

N. Y. 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zingibalsam are the best hair preparations I have known. They have restored my hair to its original color.'

REV. J. WEST, *Brooklyn, N. Y.* 'I am happy

REV. GEO. M. SPRATT, *Ag't. Bap. Penn. Pub.*
 (Who cheerfully recommends Mr. S. A. Allen's
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 samum, and also to acknowledge its curing my gr
 ness and baldness.)

REV. J. F. GRISWOLD, *Washington, N.*
'Please inform Mrs. ——— where Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum can be had in Boston. You may say in my name that I like

REV. MOSES THACHER (60 years of age,) Pitts-
N. Y. 'Since using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Wonderful
Restorer and Zylolbalsamum, my hair ceases to
and is restored to its natural color. I am satis-

REV. D. T. WOOD, *Middletown, N. Y.* 'My hair has greatly thickened. The same is true of another of my family, whose head we thought would become almost bare. Her hair has handsomely thickened, and has a handsome appearance since using your medicine.'

REV. S. B. MORLEY, *Attleboro', Mass.* 'The
 feat of Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer
 Zyllobalsamum has been to change the 'crow's
 glory' belonging to old men, to the original hu-

REV. J. P. TUSTIN, Ed. 'South Baptist,' &c., Charleston, S. C. 'The white hair is becoming obviated by new and better hair forming, by the use of Mr

REV. C. A. BUCKBEE, *Treas. Am. Bible Union*.
Y. 'I cheerfully add my testimony to that of
merous other friends, to Mrs. S. A. Allen's *World's Hair Restorer and Zylolbammum*. The hair

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REV. WM. R. DOWNS, Howard, N. Y. 'Mr.
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'Cleanses the hair and scalp, removes dandruff,

REV. C. M. KLINCK, *Lewistown, Pa.* "Mrs. S. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylolblanamide has stopped the falling off of my hair, and caused

REV. WM. PORTEUS, *Stanwich, Ct.* 'Mrs. S. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylbalsam have met my most sanguine expectations in causing my hair to grow where it had fallen.'

REV. D. MORRIS, *Cross River, N. Y.* 'I know a great many who have had their hair restored to the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum.'

REV. E. EVANS, *Delhi, O.* 'I have used Mrs.

REV. AMOS BLANCHARD, *Meriden, Ct.* 'I think very highly of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylolabum. They have changed my hair to its natural color, and stopped its falling off.'

We might quote from others of the numerous letters we have and are constantly receiving, but we deem above sufficient to convince the most skeptical that have at least the best preparations in the world for hair of the young or old. We manufacture no other preparations. Occupying the large building, at

of Broome and Elizabeth streets, exclusively for office salesroom and manufactory, we have no time or inclination to engage in other manufactures.

These are the only preparations exported in quantity to Europe.

We also would call attention to the fact that we have always avoided all charlatanism. Our preparations

the highest priced, but the cheapest, because it lasts longer, and does more good: the expense, *in the end*, less than others. We aspire to have the best, and the lowest priced. One bottle of Restorer will last nearly a year. \$1.50 per bottle. Balsam, 37½¢ per bottle.

has 'Mrs. S. A. Allen' signed in *Red Ink* to outer wrappers, and in *Black Ink* to directions pasted on tins. Restorer bottles are of dark purple glass, with words, *Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer*, *Broome Street, New York*, blown on them. The *Dal* bottles are of green glass, with *Mrs. S. A. Allen*

World's Balsam, 355 Broome Street, New York, bla
on them. Circulars around bottles copyrighted. No
other is genuine. Signing the name by others is for
ry, and will be prosecuted by us as a criminal offense.
*Some dealers try to sell other preparations on which
they make more profit, instead of these; insist on the*

Sold by nearly every drug and fancy goods dealer.
Address all letters for information to
MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S
World's Hair Restorer Depot
NO. 255 BROOME STREET, N. Y.

Oct 3 1y

POETRY.

AUTUMN FLOWERS.

BY MARY HOWITT.

The autumn sun is shining,
Grey mists are on the hill;
A russet tint is on the leaves,
But flowers are blooming still!

Still bright in wood and meadow;
On meadows dry and brown;
By little streams; by rivers broad;
On every breezy down.

The little flowers are smiling,
With chilly dew-drops wet;
Are saying, with a spirit-voice—
"We have not vanished yet!"

"No, though the spring be over,
Though summer's strength be gone,
Though autumn's wealth be garnered,
And winter cometh on;

"Still we have not departed,
We linger to the last,
And even on early winter's day
A cheerful ray will cast!"

Go forth, then, youths and maidens,
Be joyful whilst ye may;
Go forth, then, child and mother,
And tending men grow grey!

Go forth, though ye be humble,
And with toil and care;
There are no fields so barren,
But some sweet flower is there!

Flowers spring up by the highways,
Which busy feet have trod;
They rise up in the dearest wood;
They gem the dullest sod.

They need no learned gardeners
To nurture them with care;
They only need the dew of earth,
The sunshine and the air.

And for earth's lowly children,
For loving hearts and good,
They spring up all around us,
They will not be subdued.

Thank God! when forth from Eden
The weeping pair were driven,
That unto earth, though cursed with thorns,
The little flowers were given!

That Eve, when looking downward,
To face her God afraid,
Beheld the scented violet,
The primrose in the shade.

Thank God! that with the thistle
That sprang up in his toil,
The weedy worker, Adam,
Saw roses gem the soil!

And still for anxious workers,
For hearts with anguish full,
Life, even on its dreariest path,
Has flowers for them to cull!

From the National Era.

LINES.

Written for the Amherst and Salisbury Horticultural Exhibition, 28th month mo, 1858.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

This day, two hundred years ago,
The wild grape on the river's side,
The tasteless groundnut, trailing low,
The table of the woods supplied.

Unknown the apple's red and gold,
The blushing tint of peach and pear;
The mirror of the Powow told
No tale of orchards ripe and rare.

Wild as the fruits, he scorned to till
These vales the idle hunter trod,
Nor knew the glad, creative skill,
The joy of him who tills with God.

Oh! Painter of the fruits and flowers!
We thank thee for Thy wise design,
Whereby these human hands of ours
In Nature's garden work with thine!

And think, that from our daily need
The joy of simple life is born;
That he who smites the summer weed
May trust Thee for the autumn corn.

Give fools their gold, and knowers their power,
Let fortune's bubbles rise and fall;
Who sows a field, or trains a flower,
Or plants a tree, is more than all.

For he who blesses most is blest,
And God and man shall own his worth
Who toils to leave as his bequest
An added beauty to the earth.

THE OLD FOLKS' ROOM.

The old man sat by the chimney side;
His face was wrinkled and wan,
And he leaned both hands on his stout oak cane,
As if all his work were done.

His coat was of good old-fashioned gray,
The pockets were deep and wide,
Where his "spees" and his steel tobacco box
Lay snugly side by side.

The old man liked to sit the fire,
So near him the tongs were kept;
Sometimes he mused as he gazed at the coals,
Sometimes he sat and slept.

What saw he in the embers there?
Ah! pictures of other years;
And now and then they wakened smiles,
But oftener started tears.

His good wife sat on the other side,
In a high-back, flag-stem chair;
I see 'neath the pile of her muslin cap
The sheen of her silvery hair.

There's a happy look on her aged face,
As she busily knits for him,
And Nellie takes up the stitches dropped,
For grandmother's eyes are dim.

Their children come and read the news,
To pass the time each day;
How it stirs the blood in an old man's heart,
To hear of the world away!

'Tis a homely scene, I tell you so,
But pleasant it is to view;
At least I thought it so myself,
And sketched it down for you.

Be kind unto the old, my friend,
For they're worn with this world's strife,
Though bravely once, perchance, they fought
The stern, fierce battle of life.

They taught our youthful feet to climb
Upward life's rugged steep;
Then let us gently lead them down
To where the weary sleep.

SELF-RELIANCE.

And take this with thee for thy comfort too,
That that man is not most in tribulation
Who walks his own way, resolute of mind,
With answerable skill to pick his steps.

Men in their places are the men that stand!

The Liberator.

The Free Convention at Laona, N. Y.

LAONA, (N. Y.) Sunday, Oct. 10, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON:

A Convention, called in Laona, to consider the various questions of practical Reform, has just closed its sessions. It came together Friday, at 10 A. M., and has held three sessions per day. A goodly number were present the first day, though the wind and rain were severe, a part of the day. The two last days, the meeting-house has been crowded, day and evening, by an assembly of intelligent and earnest men and women, comprising many of the most upright, orderly, most respected and influential persons for many miles around, mostly worthy, substantial, and well-to-do farmers and mechanics. The following topics were presented for discussion. I send you the Resolutions as they were presented—the Convention, as a Convention, taking no vote, and giving no expression of opinion on any of them—

1. Slavery and its Supporters.

Resolved, That we regard American slavery as 'the sum of all villainies,' and all who sustain it, politically or religiously, directly or indirectly, as practical advocates and supporters of all the thefts, robberies, murders, pollutions and crimes which are essential to its existence.

2. The American Union.

Resolved, That the American Union was formed 'to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to all'; and having failed to answer the ends for which it was created, it is the right and duty of all the people to dissolve this slaveholding, slave-hunting Union, and form a confederacy on the principle of 'No Union with slaveholders.'

3. A Slaveholding and War-making God.

Resolved, That we deny the existence and scorn the worship of a god that sanctions war or slavery, or that, in any way, authorizes fraud, injustice, cruelty and inhumanity between man and man, and recognize the existence, and respect the worship only of a God who is anti-slavery and anti-war—a God of love, liberty, peace and justice, and who, in all things, respects the persons and rights of all men, women and children, without regard to color, creed, country or condition.

4. The Christ of Calvary and the Christ of Christendom—the Difference between them.

Resolved, That the Christ of Calvary and the Christ of Christendom are, in spirit and practice, eternal antagonisms; and the individual or church that reveres the latter, must, of necessity, despise the former.

5. Spirit and Teachings of Jesus of Nazareth.

Resolved, That love to enemies, forgiveness of injuries, good for evil, and self-sacrifice, constitute essential elements in the spirit, teachings and life of Jesus; therefore, the individual, Church or State, that sanctions war and preparations for war, or death-penalty, or the principle and practice of blood for blood, cannot be the friend and follower of Christ, as he is set forth in the New Testament.

Resolved, That, to imitate and practice the spirit and teachings of Jesus, as they are delineated in the New Testament, would abolish all slavery, war, and death-penalty, all drunkenness and prostitution, and all sectarianism and nationalism, and lead to a practical recognition of liberty, equality and fraternity, among all human beings.

6. The Bible—as Authority.

Resolved, That nothing is true or false, right or wrong, because it is approved or condemned by the Bible; therefore, the Bible should never be quoted, as authority, to prove any thing true or false in principle, or right or wrong in practice.

7. Church Organizations.

Resolved, That the object of church organizations is to perpetuate the stereotyped ideas of the past, and that no man, as a member of a church, can entertain and propagate any new and progressive idea without disturbing the whole body, and subjecting himself to its misinterpretations, malignity and injustice; therefore, all who would seek the true elevation and progress of man, must, in imitation of Jesus and all reformers of the past, come out from all churches, and free themselves from the gags and fetters such bodies must, in self defence, impose on freedom of thought and speech.

8. The Supremacy of Man over his Incidents.

Resolved, That we recognize the absolute supremacy of man over all his incidents; therefore, we affirm that institutions are for men, not men for institutions, and that all religious, political and social institutions and customs, by whomsoever founded, or however venerated, which cannot exist without enslaving or killing men, or in any way injuring or desecrating their bodies or souls, ought to be at once and forever abolished.

9. Man's greatest Wrong.

Resolved, That man can commit no greater outrage against woman, against his offspring, and against humanity, than to impose on her a maternity whose responsibilities and sufferings she is not prepared joyfully to accept and endure,—thus subjecting her to the terrible necessity of committing the crime of ante-natal murder, or of giving birth to children whose existence is unwelcome and repulsive to the heart of the mother that bore them.

10. Ante-natal Rights of Children.

Resolved, That children have an inherent right to demand of their parents healthy bodies and healthy souls, as a birthright inheritance; bodies free from scrofula, cancer, consumption and other disorders, and souls freed from tendencies to lying, theft, robbery, murder, drunkenness and sensuality, and to insanity and idleness; also, a right to a love origin, a designed existence, and a welcome into life.

11. Responsibilities of Parents.

Resolved, That parents, and God, are responsible for the existence and healthful or diseased organization and constitutional tendencies of the bodies and souls of their children.

Resolved, That parents, not God, are responsible for all the diseases, crimes, sufferings and deaths of their children that result from inherited conditions and tendencies.

12. Woman's Empire as a Mother.

Resolved, That woman's empire, as a mother, over the character and destiny of the race, is absolute in power and eternal in duration, and can never be too highly estimated and respected, inasmuch as through her organism must come whatever goes to make up our bodies and souls previous to birth; and, as it does so, it must be stamped with her physical, social, intellectual and spiritual conditions.

Resolved, That through woman, as a mother, the law of health or disease, of life or death, of purity or impurity, of happiness or misery, of heaven or hell, is written on the body and soul of each human being; therefore, on the health, purity, knowledge and nobleness of the mother must depend the health, nobleness and happiness of each individual man and woman of the race.

13. Free Love.

Resolved, That we reject the doctrine and practice of free love, as entertained and advocated by Abraham and Jacob, by David and Solomon, by the ministers and churches, and by the god whom they profess to worship, as unnatural and monstrous, and as tending to the pollution, degradation and ruin of our common humanity.

As understood by the churches and ministers, Free Love is but another name for polygamy, as it was practised by the patriarchs, kings and rulers of Israel, and as it is practised by the Mormons, and by the Christian converts in Hindostan, and in Mohammedan

dan countries, and also by the slaveholders, and slave-breeding churches and ministers, politicians and statesmen, of all the different slave States of this Union.

Facts were presented to the Convention, showing that over one-third of all the women of all the slave States are, by law and religion, deprived of all protection, and given over to the lusts of men—of ministers and deacons, of statesmen and judges, and are liable to be punished with outlaws and death if they make the least resistance to their brutality, or attempt to escape from it. As women, they have no protection against the sensuality of man. And this state of society, and these rapacious, incests and outrages, are sustained and perpetuated by the very editors, ministers and churches that so fiercely and clamorously denounce the Rutland, Utica, North Collins and Laona Conventions as the advocates of licentiousness! What was advocated by the individual members of those Conventions (the Conventions, as such, not acting on any question) may be known by the above resolutions; for like resolutions, substantially, were presented and discussed in all the above Conventions.

I expect to lecture in Central and Western New York till Dec. 1st.

Yours,

H. C. WRIGHT.

BAYARD TAYLOR IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

A VISIT TO THE FOUNDLING HOSPITAL.

Correspondence of the N. Y. Tribune.

Moscow, June, 1858.

It was a pleasant change to me, to turn my eyes, dazzled by the splendors of the Kremlin, upon an edifice which has neither gold nor jewels to show, the mother is allowed to become a nurse, and the father, character of the Russian Government, on the grandest scale. This is the *Vospitanijskoi Dom*, or Foundling Hospital—but the title conveys no idea of the extent and completeness of this imperial charity. There are similar institutions in Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, and other cities, on a much more contracted scale. Our New York asylum for children, on Randall's Island, though a most beneficent establishment, is still more limited in its operations than the latter. In Russia, the Foundling Hospital is characterized by some peculiar and very interesting features, which deserve to be generally known, as they are intimately connected with one of those tender moral questions our civilization is afraid to handle.

In every general view of Moscow, the eye is struck by an immense quadrangular building, or collection of buildings, on the northern bank of the Moskva, directly across the Kremlin. The white front towers high over all the neighboring part of the city, and quite eclipses, in its imposing appearance, every palace, church, military barracks, or other public building in the city. It contains, in fact, the largest and most complete of its kind in Europe.

In the lying-in hospital, all women are received who apply. They are allowed to enter one month before their confinement, and to remain afterward until their health is entirely restored. Those who wish to be unknown, and who are afraid to fall across the middle of the bed, so that their faces are never seen. Beside this, no one is allowed to enter the hospital except the persons actually employed within it. The late Emperor, even, respected its privacy, and at once gave up his desire to enter, on the representation of the physician in charge.

Arrangements are said to be so excellent that not only poor married women, but many who are quite above the necessity of such a charity, take advantage of it. In this case, also, the number of children brought forth is not limited, and the parents are not required to leave their child in the hospital; she may take it with her if she chooses, but it will of course be received, if offered.

Beside the soldiers, common mechanics and factory hands, who are the principal classes of the poor, the Government has, of late years, established many of them as farmers and colonists on the uncultivated crown lands. They are mated, married, and comfortably settled in villages, where, in addition to their agricultural pursuits, they frequently take charge of a young generation of foundlings. The fact of their arrest was kept a profound secret till yesterday, so that those still at large would not be put on their guard.

From one of the prisoners, the names of those engaged in the expedition were learned, and from another, the names of the men who were sent upon consultation with Mr. Theodore Sedgwick, the U. S. District Attorney, Marshal Rynders concluded to send the deputies, O'Keefe and Rynders, to Boston, in search of the remainder of the crew. Arriving at Cardenas, they found the ship, which was left, and placed in the temporary custody of the proper authorities. The officers then proceeded to New Bedford, near which place they arrested the chief mate, who had command of the vessel when she was captured. His name is Rynders. They found him at his home, near New Bedford, and returned to Boston. During their absence, however, the friends of the two arrested in Boston had not been idle. No sooner had O'Keefe and the younger Rynders arrived than they were encountered by some very respectable persons, who were profuse in their advice and disinterested suggestions, so much so, indeed, that the New Yorkers began to "smell a rat."

Their suspicions were right, for they learned shortly afterwards that these gentlemen were friends of the crew of the *Martha*, and were in the habit of carrying out to sea, which they did, for the purpose of having the prisoners brought up. But the New York officers were too sharp for the Boston gentlemen. A hack was procured, and the deputies and their prisoners jumped in. Jehu cracked his whip, and off they flew to the railroad station, and thence reached just in time to take the cars for New York, successfully escaping the service of the writ upon them, and with it, possibly, a great deal of trouble and delay.

They arrived early on Sunday morning, and at once proceeded to Marshal Rynders' residence in Henry street, where, from his sleep, and greeted his opening eyes with a sight of the three prisoners. The Marshal was no time in jumping out of bed and ordering the prisoners to be locked up in Eldridge street jail forthwith, to await examination.

The Marshal states that the name of the vessel is 'Haidee of New York,' instead of 'Elizabeth of New Orleans,' as was stated a few days ago in the newspapers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the fact that they had nailed a piece of canvas on her stern, upon which was painted, in large letters, 'Elizabeth of New Orleans.'

It appears that the *Haidee* was fitted out at this port several months ago, and sailed to the coast of Africa, where she took in a cargo of 900 slaves. She then sailed for Cuba, and the slaves were landed at Cardenas. At that place, the captain left the vessel, and the first mate then took the command.

It is stated that the crew had some ill-feeling toward the mate, and he was fearful they had evil designs against him. The mate is an American, and the crew was composed mostly of Portuguese. The mate prevailed on them to go to the coast of Africa, although they insisted on making the nearest port.

The Marshal understands that the remaining portion of the crew have left the country, and he has consequently given up further chase after them. He says he believes he has done his duty in doing what he has. The examination of the parties will take place in the course of a few days. Mr. P. J. Joachimsen, ex-Assistant U. S. District Attorney, has been retained as counsel for the prisoners.

The Marshal justly gives great credit to his deputies in effecting these arrests, and it is to be hoped that their labors may not prove in vain.

The affidavit of one of the sailors of the *Haidee*, the vessel lately sunk off Montauk Point, throws considerable light on the way in which the slave trade is carried on. This vessel sailed from New York in February last, commanded by a Captain Whitney, and with the reported owner on board, one Boutelle, a Portuguese, bound for Gibraltar, to which port she was bound to carry a cargo. She had, beside the captain and mate, cook and steward, twelve men before the mast and six passengers, who seem, however, to have had nothing to do with the enterprise, as they left the ship at her first port. From Gibraltar, she proceeded to Cadix, where she took in provisions, and sailed nominally for St. Michael's, in the Azores, but really for the west coast of Africa, having first taken on board two Portuguese named Thomas and James, who seem to have been partners or interested in the voyage. Arriving on the coast, Viera left the ship with letters. After three hours, Viera sent word for her to proceed to sea, which she did, cruising about for forty days, during which time she landed at an island and took in water. She then returned to her post on the coast, lay there a single day and night. The next morning, took on board a cargo of eleven hundred and thirty-three or four negroes, and sailed in the afternoon of the same day for Cuba. She arrived and anchored off Cardenas one afternoon, having lost some 200 negroes on the voyage, and the same evening two Spaniards came on board and made arrangements for landing the

intelligent overseers. In spite of the multitude of slaves there was very little noise, and the most nervous old bachelor might have gone the round without once having his teeth set on edge.

The Superintendent then conducted us to the office or agency, on the lower story, where the children of the *Martha* were kept. The number of clerks and desks, and the library of records, showed the extent of the business done. I looked over a report of the operations of the institution, from its foundation to the present time. The number of children confined to its care has increased from a few hundred in 1762 to 14,000 in 1857. Since the commencement of this year (Jan. 13, O. S.) 6,052 have arrived. The entire number received in ninety-six years is 330,000, which would be 60,000 more, born in the lying-in-hospital during the same period—making 390,000 in all.

The Petersburg branch affords still larger returns, so that at present 30,000 children are annually given into the care of the Government. A very large proportion of them are the offspring of poor married people, in all parts of the country. As the children may afterward be reclaimed, on certain conditions, and are in any case assured of a good home, at least where there have been their fathers, the parents are the more easily led to take advantage of this charity. The child is taken without question, and therefore no reliable statistics of the public morality can be obtained from this source.

The office is kept open till nine, and no living child which is offered can be refused. The only question asked, is whether it has been baptized. If not, the ceremony is immediately performed in an adjoining room, by a priest connected with the institution, one of the nurses, generally, acting as godmother. Its name and number are then entered in the official book, a card containing them and the date of its arrival attached to its neck, and another given to the mother, so that it may afterward be identified and reclaimed. Very frequently, the mother is allowed to become a nurse, and the father, character of the Russian Government, on the grandest scale. This is the *Vospitanijskoi Dom*, or Foundling Hospital—but the title conveys no idea of the extent and completeness of this imperial charity. There are similar institutions in Paris, Stockholm, Vienna, and other cities, on a much more contracted scale. Our New York asylum for children, on Randall's Island, though a most beneficent establishment, is still more limited in its operations than the latter. In Russia, the Foundling Hospital is characterized by some peculiar and very interesting features, which deserve to be generally known, as they are intimately connected with one of those tender moral questions our civilization is afraid to handle.

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